UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Mischief of Tongues

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Class Struggle

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

Walt Whitman

By JAMES OPPENHEIM

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXV THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1920 NUMBER 19

THE SCARLET SIN.

I dreamed I saw the body of mankind
Writhing with torture in a desert place.
The limbs were fever-torn, the eyes were blind,
And sweat of fearful anguish on its face.
Yea, thus I saw within one living whole
Those struggling units called the human race.
But each beheld itself a separate soul
And warred upon the others, till their strife
Poisoned the centers of the body's life.
And the dull people swarming in that frame
Knew not its cause of agony and shame.

And then again I dreamed—
How strange and terrible it seemed!
As if the brain should say, "I dwell alone."
As if the nerves should hold themselves apart
And arteries and veins should fail to own
Their kinship with the heart—
Lo, there were those who said:
"Let us be happy and well fed!"
For these were stationed at the body's head;
Nor cared how other human beings dwelt.
I wondered why it was they never felt
The anguish of their brothers when they died.
I wondered why it was they could not hear
The weeping of the widows far and near,
Nor know how little starving children cried.
Yet all within one human mass were born!
He who ignores it, shuts his eyes in vain.
If from the arm the living hand is torn,
The body writhes in pain.

I dreamed I saw the body of mankind
Tortured and blinded in the wilderness.
And none of all the sufferers could find
The source of their distress.
Until a voice, in answer to their crying,
Came like a wind replying:
"The name of man's disease is SELFISHNESS!"

N. Y. Evening Journal. —*Angela Morgan.*

NOTE.—This poem is inspired by the work of John Herman Randall and John Haynes Holmes, who are striving to awaken society to the great fact that all are members together of one human body, and what affects one affects all.

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With this issue UNITY takes the first step in a carefully planned campaign to meet the ever-increasing cost of print and paper,—a campaign which we hope will, when completed, meet this problem permanently. This first step is the reduction of the number of issues from a weekly to a fortnightly basis during the summer months of July, August and September—a step we are taking not alone but in common with *The Survey* and certain other magazines. The paper scarcity has been another factor in determining our action. We ask the patience and forbearance and cooperation of our readers and hope to make the fortnightly issues so interesting that no reader will feel himself cheated, although if any reader demands it, we will extend his subscription seven weeks. Other steps in this campaign will follow, including a far-reaching effort to secure new subscribers, a large increase in the Endowment Fund, and other details which will be announced from time to time.

With this issue of UNITY, Mr. Holmes resumes his editorial contributions. Henceforth in the future, as in the past, the unsigned paragraphs in this column, will be from his pen.

UNITY, though it speaks to you but twice a month this summer, will speak with its usual unfaltering voice in behalf of those causes of justice and freedom and liberal religion which it has advocated these more than forty years. ——— E. LL. J.

It is difficult to find words to describe the ineptitude, the scandal, the futile tragedy of the Republican and Democratic conventions. And yet they might have been worse! The delegates might have had the courage of their whiskey-soaked convictions to come out against prohibition and its legal enforcement. They might have been cowed by the lash of the international banking interests to unqualified endorsement of the League of Nations Covenant. They might have heeded the demand of the junkers for an approval of universal military training. Above all, the Chicago crowd of politicians might have nominated General Wood; and the San Francisco crowd, Attorney-General Palmer. If we ask why these direful dangers were avoided, we must agree that behind every decision of these timid and unscrupulous delegates was the fear of the voters. All and more of these wretched things would have been done, could the Republicans and Democrats have been convinced that the people would stand for it. Which plainly means that the political method of social control is not so much played out as many of our reformers would have us believe! A latent sense of decency and idealistic integrity in the popular mind again and again saves the nation from threatened disaster. What this sense might accomplish if aroused and organized to constructive endeavor, is simply incalculable. Our political weapon, in this American democracy of ours, is ready to our hands. We can use it, for the solution of all our problems, whenever we so decide.

"We resent," says the Democratic platform adopted at San Francisco, "the unfounded reproaches directed against the Democratic Administration for alleged interference with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech. No utterance from any quarter has been assailed and no publication has been repressed which has not been animated by treasonable purpose and di-

rected against the nation's peace, order and security in time of war." This from the party responsible for the passage and execution of the Espionage Law! This from the party which produced a Burleson in the Post Office Department and a Mitchell Palmer in the Department of Justice!! This from the men who have filled our prisons with political offenders, and made America a by-word and hissing throughout the world for tyranny and injustice!!! What is to be said about such an utterance, except that the Democratic Party has solemnly resolved to add to its other high crimes and misdemeanors that most despicable sin of all—the sin of hypocrisy? And yet the convention had distinguished precedent. For it was no less a man than President Wilson who, in his famous interview with Louis Seibold, defied the Republicans to prove that any man has been wrongfully punished for opinions under his administration. Not since Jacob lay with Leah has the world seen such naïvete, or out-and-out ignorance, as this.

We wonder if all the Democratic legal lights who now see so clearly that the provisions of the Tennessee constitution which seek to secure a popular vote on federal constitutional amendments are so unconstitutional that they cannot interfere with the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Tennessee Legislature, were equally able to see the obvious application of this same ruling to the Federal Prohibition Amendment at the time the clamor for the submission of this amendment to the people of each state was being made by the same interests who had for many years most strenuously opposed all referendum laws. Q.

If any of our readers grow weary of our sane and sedate columns, we would refer them for a change to that fiery radical sheet, *The Wall Street Journal*. We would also like to direct Attorney General Palmer's attention to this organ, for its contents seem to us more certain to promote the spread of Bolshevism than the combined pages of the Communist, Communist Labor and Socialist publications of the country. The Supreme Court, however, seems to be running a close second to the *Journal*, for its recent decision that stock dividends cannot be taxed by Congress has resulted in an immediate distribution in the form of stock dividends of the immense reserve funds piled up by those great corporations who led in the late war for democracy. Theodore H. Price, writing of the New England cotton mills, says:

> Reserves piled up during the war period and were not distributed in stock dividends in consequence of the difficulties that would be caused stockholders by the taxation that would follow.

The Supreme Court having kindly removed these "difficulties," *The Wall Street Journal* prints a list of 49 concerns who have declared such dividends. Of this 49, there are 23 who have declared stock dividends of 100 per cent or over and only one so low as 10 per cent. From the first 16 concerns on the alphabetical list we select the following and wonder if there is any connection between these per cents and "one hundred per cent Americanism": American Trading Corporation, 100 per cent; Amoskeag Mfg. Company, 100 per cent; Bank of America, 200 per cent; Belton Mills, 100 per cent; Brunswick-Balke-Collender, 200 per cent; Chapman Valve Co., 100 per cent; Columbia Motors, 700 per cent (surely this must be the fault of the type-setter); Continental Oil, 100 per cent. . . . General American Tank Company, 300 per cent. And still the Attorney General pretends to believe that the vagaries of a few alien anarchists are causing the unrest in America! Q.

And if our readers desire still further to enliven their vacation time by "red" literature, we would suggest that they secure from the Government Printing Office—not at Petrograd—but at Washington a copy of the reports on War Expenditures introduced into the Congressional Record by Representatives Newton of Missouri and Dennison of Illinois. Not only *The New Majority*, the organ of the Labor Party, but that staid monthly, *Current Opinion* of New York City, seem shocked by the revelations these Congressmen have made. Indeed the latter publication heads its article: "Accounting for a Few of the 16,000 New Millionaires" and selects a few facts from the report. For example, when the armistice was signed, only 3,700,000 men were under arms, but the War Department had orders placed for shoes calling for 300,000 more hides than the sum total of American production. We also had for army service 391,000 horses and mules, but had ordered 945,000 saddles and over a million sets of double harness. From one concern 195,000 copper branding irons, or about one for every two quadrupeds in the army, were ordered The contractor bought 20,000 more pounds of copper than the order required, paid 39½ cents per pound for all of it, secured this amount from the War Department after the armistice, and then bought the copper back from the Department at 11 cents per pound. For the war was won with the mules and horses unbranded, as no irons were finished at the date of the armistice. Of the enormous supply of hundreds of millions of dollars worth of meats and other foodstuffs on hand at the end of the war and the withholding of it from public sale or its destruction (two million pounds of ham, for instance, were allowed to spoil at Baltimore and 1,497,000 pounds of bacon at Norfolk, Va.) for fear of "disturbing industrial conditions," it is hardly possible to write sanely when one remembers the still starving millions of Europe and the impossible food prices at home. The sale of 22 million pounds of sugar to the French Government at two cents a pound

while at home we were paying twenty cents last summer and fall is another case in point as is also an 80 per cent reduction in the sale, also to the French Government, of two billion dollars worth of foodstuffs, clothing, automobiles, etc. At the suggestion of the National Canners Association, two hundred million cans of vegetables were added to the ration list, rather than put on the market, in order, as Col. Davis testified, "to protect the canners." The waste in munitions is still another tragedy. As *The New Majority* remarks:

> The proceeds from Liberty Loan drives and war taxes have been poured into the coffers of munition makers for supplies that were oftentimes not manufactured.

For example, to select further facts from the Congressional Record, at Charleston, Norfolk and Boston $150,000,000 was spent for port terminals from which no ship ever sailed during the war. For nitrate plants which never made a pound of nitrate, $120,000,000. For powder plants which never made a pound of powder, $160,000,000. The one at Nitro, W. Va., which cost $70,000,000 was recently sold for $8,000,000. For shells, a billion dollars was spent, and only 17,000 American shells were fired by the American forces during the war. $1,051,000,000 was spent for aeroplanes, and only 213 American-made planes reached the front. For tanks, $100,000,000 was spent, yet the first tank did not reach France till after the armistice. (In another column we note that *The Wall Street Journal* lists the stock dividends declared by the American Tank Corporation as 300 per cent; the two items may have no connection, however.) We also paid $117,000,000 to manufacture gas, but no gas was fired on the battle front from American shells. And so the tale of waste and plunder goes on until it seems as if no government could ever again win the support of its people for another war. Yet how easily will these figures be forgotten and how freely will blood and gold again be forthcoming when the next great holocaust begins and is camouflaged by the beautiful banners of "liberty" or "democracy," or the "need of carrying civilization to the Mexicans," or "preserving the Anglo-Saxon domination of the world," or "freeing humanity from the Bolshevist menace," or some other of the shining phrases with which the old and the powerful always lure the hearts of youth to man their battle fronts and fight their wars. Q.

CONTINUANCE.

And one, you say, is gone? Of countless stars
The ordered depths, illimited, display,
That one no more will swing its charted way;
One star is gone?
Yet its refulgence glows. Through myriad years
The light it gave will brighten our dark night;
Dying, it has bequeathed a path of light
Where once it shone.

—*C. S. P. W.*

The Class Struggle

The world has never been free from the conflict of classes since civilization began. The caste system in India is the most typical instance, result of the subjection of the aboriginal population, and the division of social and political interests on the part of the dominant class. All the civilizations of the ancient world were based on slavery, which had its origin in war and the preservation of enemies for the sake of their labor, instead of their being slaughtered on the field of battle. In the middle ages, slavery was transformed into serfdom, when the working class was tied to the land, and was bought and sold with it. Only in quite modern times have slavery and serfdom been abolished to such an extent as to permit of anything approaching free movement on the part of those who toil at manual tasks.

Throughout the early modern period serfdom lingered throughout Europe, even in the most progressive countries. In England there was a somewhat distinct division of class interests and customs between the aristocratic class, the middle class, and the workers on land and in factory. Before that the division between the lordly class and the serfs had been sharp and extreme. More recently the middle class, consisting of the higher craftsmen, manufacturers, merchants and the professionals has grown up, and has come to have a dominating influence in Great Britain. Even in politics the Tories have represented the aristocrats, owners of the land, those possessed of great estates, and leaders in the Church and universities; and the Liberals have been largely of the middle class, until recently re-enforced by the workers. Essentially the same conditions have existed in the other European countries, with one degree or another of modification.

Ruskin said that the aristocratic class ought to be the genuine fathers of the people, caring for them tenderly and solicitously, and securing all that they might need of protection and furtherance of their interests. If this was what ought to have been, it certainly has not been what has actually existed wherever there has been an aristocratic class. Only as the middle class has grown in numbers and power has it found recognition by the Tories. In France it brought about the Revolution, and forced the hands of the old ruling class. As a result the lords were abolished and a republican form of government has come into operation. The struggle lasted for more than a century, and has by no means been ended as yet. In Great Britain the forms of democracy have come into acceptance; but the lords continue to hold the land and to dominate the social life of the country. The middle class has in large degree gained political power, but has not succeeded in abolishing class demarkations. Indeed, one may doubt if the members

of that class have any desire that the old class distinctions should come to an end.

Since the beginning of the rise of the industrial era, with the end of the eighteenth century, the proletarians of France, and the working class in England and Germany, have been gradually gaining the suffrage, asserting themselves in politics, and organizing in one manner or another. Sometimes it has been for the sake of political influence, sometimes to secure industrial protection, higher wages, shorter hours and the right of collective bargaining. With notable exceptions, though not many or largely effective, they have had no aid from the aristocratic or the middle class. Indeed, almost without exception, they have been held to be inferior, kept strictly in subjection, and compelled to serve the interests of those above them.

Mr. Roosevelt and others have asserted that there is no such thing as class distinctions in this country. This is to be regarded as an instance where the wish is father of the thought. At no time in the history of the United States has there been a complete absence of class lines. In the early days slavery existed throughout the North, as well as in the South. In nearly all the states after the formation of the national government there existed rather sharp class legislation, based on possession of property, religious beliefs, social and professional standing. Large numbers were disfranchised in several of the states on these grounds. Demand for labor, large tracts of fertile unoccupied lands, the rise of the democratic idea, and other causes, gradually led to the extension of the franchise, the abolition of religious tests (though these have not disappeared as yet in some of the states), and the discarding of property limitations of suffrage.

Slavery remained, and its abolition has by no means wiped out class distinctions growing out of it. Nor has the withdrawal of the restrictions on the suffrage done away with the class alignments between those who labor for wages and those who do not. Large numbers of men have been brought from other lands to become wage-earners in this. At the present time this large class, on which the country has largely depended, is being condemned for anarchism, communism or some other offense against the laws of our country. It is very difficult not to see in this condemnation of foreigners a rather marked class attitude on the part of the governing body in the United States.

While the wage system remains classes will continue to exist. We must regard it as only a mitigated form of slavery or serfdom. It is true that the wage-earner cannot be held as a part of farm or factory, to be bought and sold with it. Nevertheless, the condition of the wage-earner is even less desirable than that of the slave or the serf in several respects. The slave was cared for as the horse or cow is cared for, because property value would otherwise be lessened. The toiler for wages is dismissed as responsible for his own welfare, in regard to whose protection and rights the employer is not concerned. There are exceptional employers, it is true; but the history of labor legislation shows to what an extent the employers have been compelled to give heed to the welfare of those they employ. Even now workers are in considerable degree at the mercy of those who employ them, who make use of every agency of government to compel workers to subject themselves to the demands of those for whom they toil. While it is maintained that employers have property rights which must be safeguarded at whatever disregard of life and liberty on the part of those they employ, it cannot be truthfully said that class distinctions have disappeared from this country. The workers have a right to believe that an army is maintained on the part of the United States to no small degree for the purpose of compelling workers to submit to the demands of their employers. We need not doubt that the police is often used for this express purpose.

The history of the middle class in all countries where it exists shows that it has secured recognition of its rights from the aristocratic class only when it has fought for those rights. Even the aristocratic class, as its battle with King John in England proves, has compelled kings to give it recognition. No class has been advanced by those above it until it has grown strong enough to demand and to secure protection and rights. The workers remained slaves or serfs until they had forced the hand of their lords. Changed industrial and economic causes have worked in their behalf; but not of the free will and benevolent disposition of their masters have they been freed, and given political or social recognition. The history of the working class in England by the Webbs shows with sufficient definiteness that what the workers have fought for they have secured, in so far as they have been able to make their demands effective.

To condemn the workers of this country for their promotion of their class interests is futile and unjustified. Their surest weapon is "class consciousness" in the promotion of their industrial and social interests. Without that weapon they could secure nothing. If the farmers and wage-workers of this country were truly "class conscious" it would be very easy for them to secure what they wish, and very speedily. It is the lack of unity, which would make them effective, which prevents their organization of a powerful third party. They have that individualistic conceit that they are free to act independently, which makes impotent all efforts to bring about a new alignment of productive interests. Not until they become thoroughly aware that they are being exploited by the dominant class, the class of capital, will they be able to throw off the burdens which

weigh upon them, and which they are now impotent to cast aside. Tolstoi said that the masters are not willing to get off the backs of the workers, and his assertion is as true of this country as of Russia, though in a somewhat different degree.

The one hope for the workers of America, as for those of all other countries, is that they may become class conscious, unite for the protection of their own interests, vote themselves what they demand, and do so by peaceful organization and co-operation. While they are foolish enough to believe there are no classes in this country, and depend on their employers or their party affiliations to protect them, they will be the victims of conditions they cannot control. In union there is strength for workers as for all others. While the toilers of America are divided into five or six parties, and think they are to be assured of what they need by the old political organizations, they will be under the thumb of others, as they have been hitherto.

What is the ultimate purpose of that which is called "class consciousness"? It is that by means of it all class distinctions may be ultimately abolished. Is there, in fact, any other means by which class distinctions, jealousies and antagonisms shall cease to exist? The ruling class in politics and finance and government have as yet made no provision for such abolition. They have made no effective attempt to discard class lines of cleavage, in this or any other country. This is the great and supreme task before the workers, when they have become aware of their power, found in their superiority of numbers, and their growing intelligence and capacity for organization. Speed the day when they shall become aware of the supreme mission which is theirs in behalf of a higher and wiser civilization for all mankind!

Those who condemn class consciousness on the plea that it introduces a spirit of antagonism into our national life may not be aware of the whole of the history of the progress of the workers since the incoming of the industrial age. In no small degree, too, they mistake the real significance of the feeling of class interests and sense of brotherhood. Here is one of the greatest of the interests making for industrial and social welfare. It is not an attitude of mind to be deprecated, but to be sustained and encouraged. And for the reason that the workers must work out their own emancipation through the aid of organization, suggestions of better methods of production and distribution, and the development of a more truly democratic form of government. They must be their own saviours, their own guides to a larger liberty, and the providers of a truer kind of social justice for those of all classes who toil or are in any way dependent. This is the hope and the promise of the future. Those who emancipate themselves will never be enslaved again. GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

THE PULPIT

The Mischief of Tongues

A Sermon Preached by John Haynes Holmes at the Community Church New York

Text: "Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile." *Psalm* 24:13.

I read to you this morning, for our scripture lesson, that remarkable passage from the *Epistle of St. James,* in which solemn warning is spoken against what I have chosen to call "the mischief of tongues." If we read the words of the apostle carefully, we will note that his counsel was directed especially to teachers and preachers—those who were proclaiming to multitudes the gospel of Jesus Christ; and I suppose that there is no man today, who stands in a pulpit or on a platform, who does not recognize the cogency of James's advice, and recall with melancholy those many occasions in his public life, when his tongue was master of his thought, rather than his thought of his tongue. But what is said here by St. James certainly has wider application than to those simply who engage in public utterance. For we all use this "little member," the tongue; we all have our audiences, in private if not in public; we all spread abroad in our world, whatever it may be, the good or the evil of our speaking. This at least has been the conviction of all great moral teachers, in ancient and modern times alike, who speak, as the apostle speaks, of "how great a matter" the "little fire" of the tongue may kindle. Socrates, who used his tongue to such good effect that his fellow citizens in Athens put him to death in his old age, that they might silence it, warned against the carelessness and wickedness of men's words. Jesus of Nazareth took pains to point out to his disciples that it is not what entereth into a man's mouth which defileth him, but that which cometh out. Pascal went so far as to declare, in his *Pensees,* that "no one speaks of us in our presence as he does in our absence . . . and that if all men knew what they say of one another, there would be few friends in this world." And now comes Maurice Maeterlinck in our own time, to say in his most recent book, *Mountain Paths,* "If you do away with evil speaking, you do away with three-fourths of our conversation. and an unbearable silence will hover over every gathering. Evil speaking or calumny . . . which feeds all that creates disunion between men—is nevertheless the chief motive that brings them together and enables them to enjoy the pleasures of society."

That such indictment of our "much speaking" is true, is shown by all that we ourselves know in our own experience. Think, for example, of two old cronies—men or women, either—sitting on a back porch, or hanging over a backyard fence, or sitting by the stove in the kitchen or the village store! What stories are told, what scandals invented and rehearsed, what names taken not in vain, what troubles brewed for individuals and families throughout the neighborhood! Or think of a group of women gathered at an afternoon tea, or a group of men lingering to late hours at the club! Of what are we reminded by the thought of such a circle, but the famous scene in Richard Brinsley Sheridan's drama, *The School for Scandal,* in which Sir Peter Teazle chances to intrude upon

his wife and her friends. "Here is the whole set," says the testy old gentleman; "a character dead at every word." A little later a message is brought to him by a servant, and he rises to give answer. "Your ladyship must excuse me," he says; "I am called away by particular business. But I leave my character behind me."

If moralists in the old days, however, were moved to admonition and satire by the scandal of evil speaking among their contemporaries, what would they have thought and said of such scandal had they seen it, as Maeterlinck sees it, under the opportunities of gossip which exist today? It is not necessary, in this age, for two persons to get together, in order to ruin the reputations of their acquaintances and friends. All we have to do is to snatch up the telephone, and talk over a distance of hundreds or even thousands of miles about the things which we ought not to know, or as a matter of fact, do not know, about other people. Then there is the newspaper, placed fresh, like a new laid egg, upon our breakfast table every morning, with its never-failing record of the evil speaking of editors, of politicians, of society leaders, of capital against labor and labor against capital, of nation against nation throughout the world, and always of those innumerable obscure or unknown persons from whom reporters gather their news for the day's printing. And what shall we say of that latest device for the dissemination of falsehood and deceit, known since the outbreak of the War as "propaganda"? Here is the mischief of tongues made a deliberate business by officers of government—whole nations of men, and whole classes of men within nations, defamed and slandered and lied about, all for the purpose of stirring up enmity and quickening hate. "I do not know the method," said Edmund Burke, "of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." He would have been easily and quickly taught, had he lived in the twentieth century instead of the eighteenth, and gone to school to any one of the under-secretaries who manage for our modern democracies this business of "bearing false witness against (our) neighbor."

Evil speaking, or "the mischief of tongues," as I call it, is evidently enough one of the besetting sins of human nature. Built into the vast machinery of the printing press, utilized by the agencies of government for the fostering of selfish interests and ambitions, it is now become one of the most potent influences of social confusion and disintegration. It breeds suspicion and prejudice, erects barriers, spreads abroad hostility and hate. It breaks friendship between man and man, creates friction between social groups, makes difficult or impossible the co-operation of many men to common ends of happiness and goodwill. What it does in the home, in society, in the church, is known of all. Is it also known what it does in the great field of international relations, where men are striving, in blood and tears, to find the way of living together in amity and peace? We are talking much these days of the causes of the Great War; we speak of German aggression, of the balance of power between the Central Empires and the Triple Entente, of the menace of vast armaments, of economic competition at home and abroad, of the wiles of diplomats and financiers and exploiters. But how many of us have ever stopped to think of the simple, everyday mischief of tongues as a cause of the great cataclysm of 1914? That catastrophe had its beginning, among other things, in what Germans have been saying about Englishmen, and Englishmen about Germans, during the last thirty and forty years. If the incredible disaster of a war between Great Britain and the United States should come upon the world in the course of the next generation, it would be very largely because of the jingoes in each country who seem to find both their business and amusement in saying "all manner of evil falsely" against the other country, for the sake of enmity between the two. If a conflict breaks out this year or next between America and Mexico, it will be for no other reason than that for years we have had interests in this country which have lied deliberately about the condition of affairs in our struggling little neighbor to the south. This mischief of tongues is something more than a matter of individual idiosyncrasy or weakness. It touches matters extending far beyond the range of personal contacts and relationships. It is a question which lies at the heart of the whole problem of brotherhood, and holds within itself the secret perhaps of the very survival of our civilization. In considering this question, therefore, we are on the road to great issues of social welfare, as well as to the ordinary decencies of respect and confidence which we owe to one another in daily life.

At the outset, it may be well for us to analyze this business of evil speaking, and thus discern what are some of the different forms or varieties of what I have called "the mischief of tongues."

(1) Most common, and undoubtedly most innocent, of all these varieties of mischief, is *exaggeration*. Here is a certain set of facts, which it is our duty or desire to report! Now in reciting our tale, we again and again yield to the childlike habit of magnifying what we have seen or heard. Sometimes we do this out of simple eagerness to tell as good a story as possible; at other times, we are moved by the impulse to give pleasure, to stir excitement, to satisfy expectation; most often, perhaps, we are persuaded by the desire to prove a case, to show that we are right and our opponent wrong on some issue which is in controversy. In no case are we lying, or even deliberately distorting the truth, but more or less unconsciously making the best, or the worst, of the facts at our disposal. For exaggeration, it should be noted, may be down as well as up—it may be a case of minimizing as well as magnifying reality.

Thus, for example, I want to know how many persons were in the congregation of a certain church on a Sunday morning. We will suppose that the actual number in attendance was one thousand. I ask a man, who is exceedingly friendly to the minister of this church, and he tells me the audience numbered fifteen hundred people. I ask another man, who is unfriendly to this minister, and he places the figure at five hundred. Another illustration of this same kind, which I have noted again and again, is that of a Socialist rally in Madison Square Garden, an auditorium in which it is easy to estimate the size of a gathering by anybody who is familiar with the seating capacity of floor and galleries. Reporters are sent to this rally, under instructions to state the facts exactly as they transpire. The crowd which assembles, let us say, numbers from ten to twelve thousand men and women. On the next morning, we open a copy of the New York *Times*, and we learn that the Garden was sparsely filled with an audience of about five thousand people. Then we turn to a copy of the New

York *Call,* and we are edified to discover that the Garden was packed with an enthusiastic mob of not less than fifteen or twenty thousand.

The War, of course, gave an unexampled opportunity for exaggeration. I can recall how mystifying was the experience, in the early days of the struggle, to read the stories of the great battles in Belgium and northern France during the German advance to the Marne. I had a map of the area of conflict at that time, and every day marked dutifully the line of battle as indicated in the official despatches. I can remember now, just as though it were yesterday, how I would read each morning of the marvelous victories of the Allied troops, and then, on going to my map, would discover that the victories had netted a loss of anywhere from a dozen to fifty miles. Gradually I learned, as we all learned, that reports from the battlefields were filled with exaggeration. The enemy's attacks were always repulsed with enormous losses; our own troops advanced from post to post with trifling casualties. And such reports, be it noted, in the early days of the War at least, were not falsifications at all, but the accurate impressions of men who wrote under the influence of vast enthusiasm for the Allied cause, and with none of the heartbreaking disillusionment which came in later days.

Of all the experiences of the War, however, none so lent themselves to unconscious and hysterical exaggeration as atrocities. That atrocities were committed in this war, I have no doubt, just as I have no doubt that they were committed not merely by the German, but by all armies engaged in the ghastly struggle, for atrocities are the inevitable accompaniment of war in every age and under every flag. I know also that, as the fight went on, stories of atrocities were deliberately manufactured by orders of government, in order to vilify the enemy, and thus help to accomplish that extraordinary thing known as sustaining the morale on the home front. But in the early days, the atrocity tales were the result of the substratum of fact exaggerated beyond all recognition by the wild rumors which follow in the wake of sudden war. No tale was more familiar, as none was more horrible, than that of the little Belgians who had had their arms or hands chopped off by German butchers. Hundreds of these children were reputed to have arrived in England, and been distributed among English families. After a while, they began to arrive in this country. I heard of three cases in New Jersey, and came within two removes of the person who had actually seen them. We heard so much about these unhappy youngsters, and they were arriving so fast in places of refuge, that very soon we got the idea that the chief amusement of the Germans in Belgium was seizing little boys and girls and slicing off their limbs. Now that the War is over, and our nerves have become quieted a bit, we know that this tale was from beginning to end a monstrous fable. Investigating committees have hunted for these mutilated children. Large rewards have been offered for the production of even one such child, who could be properly photographed and registered. A search has even been made for one single person who could swear to having seen one of these victims with his own eyes. But all in vain! These children simply do not exist. They are only a part of that vast complex of exaggeration which was unconsciously created by minds which had forgotten what war really was, and which were therefore turned to frenzy when it came.

(2) A second variety of "the mischief of tongues" is what I would call *distortion.* I can best indicate what I have in mind, when I use this phrase, by directing our attention to the problem presented to the artist, when he undertakes to hang the picture which he has painted. If he hangs it over here, he discovers that certain colors are deadened, certain lines obliterated, the whole character of the picture distorted by bad light and false perspective. When he places the canvas over on this side of the room, however, he finds that certain pigments are made livid and ugly, certain lines emphasized out of all proportion to the rest of the design, and thus the picture is spoiled again. Where shall the artist find a place to hang his painting where every stroke of his brush shall bear its true proportion to the whole, and every color shine with the beauty which is its own? This is the artist's problem! And it is also the problem of each one of us, when we undertake to tell something which we have seen, or heard, or know. Most of us in making a report of any kind, stress one fact and obscure another, bring this episode out into the light of strong emotion and hide this other in the darkness of our indifference. Usually we do this without intention—we simply follow the line of our own rising and falling interest in a series of events. Occasionally we do this deliberately, in order to produce a certain effect in the mind of the listener. In either case, we are guilty of distortion. We are telling a story in such a way that the facts reported correctly, are understood incorrectly.

May I illustrate this factor of distortion, by narrating an experience of my own! Some years ago I delivered an address on a certain occasion in this city on the question of non-resistance. In the course of my remarks, I referred to Jesus as a non-resistant; and contrasted with his attitude on the use of physical force, that of the practical-minded men of his time. In order to press my argument home, so to speak, and especially to show that men in Jesus's day were not altogether different from men today, I most unfortunately, as I later discovered, summed up my statement by saying that, from the standpoint of such men as these, Jesus was a fool! The next morning, across two columns of the New York *World,* I saw the staring headline, "Dr. Holmes says 'Jesus was a fool.'" This is a most interesting instance of distortion. The reporter quoted exactly the words that I had used; a lawyer, whom I consulted, advised me that I had no case for libel at all. And yet, by skilfully omitting the qualifying phrase, or reservation, with which I had introduced my statement, he managed to create, to my own great damage, exactly the opposite impression from that I had intended to convey.

In Mr. Upton Sinclair's *The Brass Check,* a study of modern journalism, there is an abundant harvest of illustrations of the distorting power of the public press. This appears with especial frequency in the stories printed about labor disputes. You read a sensational story, for example, about the dispersal of a mob of strikers by the police. You gather the impression that a terrible riot broke out in the area of conflict, and that the police with great difficulty and heroism succeeded in restoring law and order. Later on, when you come to investigate the tale, you dis-

cover that the strikers were set upon by the police, and that they were dispersed with much confusion and some bloodshed. But you also discover that the police had precipitated the struggle, that the strikers were peaceable and law-abiding, and that the riot was a deliberate attempt to break the strike by turning public sympathy against the strikers by an appeal to law and order.

The War, of course, abounded in all manner of distortion. Take, for example, the stories of German and Russian mobilization in the closing days of July, 1914. Here were two exactly similar phenomena. The Kaiser and the Tsar were summoning their troops in exactly the same spirit, to exactly the same end; and their subjects were responding to their call, as men have always responded under such circumstances, in the love of country. And yet the accounts which came to us of the mobilization in these two empires indicated that the Germans were rushing to the colors, in order to conquer Europe and lay it waste from end to end; and that the Russians were gathering simply to defend the fatherland from invasion.

So also with that extraordinary tale which came out of Soviet Russia, some months ago, about the nationalization of women. Some persons describe this fantastic yarn as a deliberate fabrication; I am inclined, however to regard it as another instance of the distortion of which we are speaking. For the edict of nationalization, which was quoted so widely throughout the western world, was really published. It was reproduced in our newspapers exactly as it appeared on the walls and bill-boards of a certain city of Russia. But this edict was published, as we now know, not by the Bolshevik government, but by a private anarchist society, which had about as much right to speak for the Soviets, as the Ferrer School, let us say, has a right to speak for the United States. The fact of the matter is that the moment the edict appeared, it was torn down by order of the Bolsheviki, and officially repudiated. And yet this story was so presented by our newspapers that even today, when the correction has been made by a dozen different first-hand witnesses, I suppose that nine people out of ten in this country, and perhaps one out of three in this very audience this morning, still believe that this fable of the nationalization of women is true. Such is the distorting power of telling the truth, but not the whole truth!

(Continued)

TO ONE WHO HAD WRITTEN IN DERISION OF THE BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY.

Dismiss not so, with light hard phrase and cold,
Ev'n if it be but fond imagining,
The hope whereto so passionately cling
The dreaming generations from of old!
Not thus, to luckless men, are tidings told
Of mistress lost, or riches taken wing;
And is eternity a slighter thing,
To have or lose, than kisses or than gold?

Nay, tenderly, if needs thou must, disprove
My loftiest fancy, dash my grand desire
To see this curtain lift, these clouds retire,
And Truth, a boundless dayspring, blaze above
And round me; and to ask of my dead sire
His pardon for a word that wronged his love.

—*William Watson.*

From "The Golden Book of English Sonnets." Published by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

War and Religion

By Charles E. Beals

VI.—The Prophecy of History.

Is there any way of subjecting our theory to experiment, as scientists test their theories with microscope and scales and test tubes? Yes. History is the laboratory in which our hypothesis may be subjected to the supreme test of actual experience in order to find out whether it is workable or not. History is prophetic. The best way to forecast the future is to study the past. We ask, therefore, whether our theory of religion as a soldier-ship ever has been tried, and, if it has been tried, whether the results confirm the theory.

As we look back over the centuries, we find four classes of movements in which the spirit of religion and of soldierliness have been, or are, closely bound up together. The first kind consists of certain movements in which the militaristic element predominates over the religious. In these movements religious fanaticism is used simply as a war asset. The second kind consists of certain movements the outward organization of which is military, while the aim is purely religious. Thirdly, we find certain religious movements having no military object or organization, but whose severe ethical standards remind us of the most rigid military discipline. And, fourthly, there are certain purely spiritual movements, without the slightest military association or form of organization, in which the spirit of self-sacrifice for holy ends outshines the most dazzling courage of the battlefield. It is difficult to separate the third group from the fourth. Perhaps we may say that the former is tinged with asceticism, while the fourth regards self-sacrifice as incidental to the attainment of a moral ideal other than that of self-sacrifice as an end in itself. A survey of these movements will furnish us valuable data as to the workableness or non-workableness of our conception of religion as a transformed soldiership.

Among the religious movements avowedly militaristic we may mention chivalry, the crusades, the ecclesiastical military orders, and possibly Bushido of old Japan. Chivalry classed its knights as Christian soldiers. Frequently the name "Jesus" was engraved upon the hilt of the knight's sword. The investiture of a knight was no less religious a ceremony than the ordination of a priest. Knights were most punctilious in observing the forms of religion. Out of the institution of knighthood, or chivalry, grew the crusades, the most prominent and romantic events in the Middle Ages. Military Christianity reached its climax in the crusades. Salvation was promised to those who would "take the cross." The religious fervor with which the crusades were preached was hypnotic and overpowering. But unspeakable atrocities were committed by these "soldiers of Christ" who out-Saracened the Saracen in barbarous war practices. The crusades gave rise to two or three principal and several minor orders of military friars, such as the Knights of the Temple (Templars), the Knights of St. John (afterward known as the Knights of Malta), the Teutonic Knights, etc. These knights were soldiers of the church. They took religious vows, consecrated themselves to the fighting of the battles of the church, and were honored by popes and councils.

They were soldier-monks and constituted an international priesthood, according to Mr. Bryce. In chivalry, the crusades, and the ecclesiastical military orders fanatical religion was used as a promoter of war. Less repellant than this "Christian" militarism was Japanese Bushido, which constituted, in earlier times, "the soul of Japan." Perhaps the world never has seen anything finer in the way of nationalized chivalry than the rectitude, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity, honor, self-control and self-sacrifice of the Samurai. Mr. H. G. Wells was so deeply impressed with the excellences of Bushido that he at one time proposed forming among western peoples a society to be known as the Samurai, for the promotion of clean, resolute, self-mastered living.

Let us glance next at some non-militaristic religious movements having a military or semi-military form of organization. One of these was monasticism. Alongside the military orders there sprang up the great monastic orders. The central idea of monasticism is the self-purification of sin by means of self-denial. To be sure, asceticism and monasticism flourished in India even before the Christian era, and among the Jews the idea was embodied in the Essenes. But the golden age of monasticism was the period during which the military orders flourished. A truly soldierly spirit breathed in the great non-military monastic orders. Although the Society of Jesus is not a monastic order, it reminds one of the drastic monastic rule. It was organized by an ex-soldier, Ignatius Loyola, as a spiritual soldiery. He instructed his Jesuits thus: "To those who ask us what we are we will reply, we are the Soldiers of the Holy Church." The commanding general of the order possesses absolute authority, and the promptest and completest obedience is exacted from the members. The Jesuits have exerted a most powerful influence within the Catholic Church, and their missionaries have endured indescribable suffering with soldierly fortitude. In Protestantism the non-military soldier spirit finds incarnation in the itinerancy of Wesleyism and Methodism, in the Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America and other religious movements organized on an army plan.

We may mention, thirdly, certain religious or philosophical movements so exacting in ethical requirements that they remind one of strict military discipline. These movements have produced hardy, noble souls, men of undaunted loyalty to their ideals of duty. Zoroastrianism sounded a high moral note, and Zoroaster's conception of religion as a moral warfare antedates our present study by twenty-five centuries. To the Stoics life was a soldiership. Epictetus asked: "Do you not know that human life is a warfare? You must observe the duty of a soldier." Lecky claims that "In the Roman Empire almost every great character, almost every effort in the cause of liberty, emanated from the ranks of Stoicism." Certainly it produced soldierly souls. One of the most remarkable movements in all history was Puritanism. Geneva was its fountain head, but Puritanism speedily flowed into other lands. In England Puritanism attained national dimensions in spite of a bloody queen's burning fagots or stupid James's tyrannical attempt to "harry them out of the kingdom." In Scotland fearless John Knox incarnated the Puritan spirit. In the New World, as in the Old, Puritanism exerted an influence all out of proportion to the number of its adherents.

Most suggestive of all are certain non-militaristic movements in which spiritual ends are attempted in a spirit of self-sacrifice truly soldier-like. An interesting society, bearing the name of "The Friends of God," sprang up in the fourteenth century. Godly men like Henry Suso, John Tauler and Nicholas of Basle were members of this band. Out of this movement grew another, namely, "The Brothers of the Common Life," which exerted a most beneficent influence. Later, Zinzendorf and his pious Herrnhuters embraced a missionary ideal which to this day survives in the far-flung missionary enterprises of the Moravian Brethren. Even better known are the Quakers, or, as they call themselves, "The Religious Society of Friends." No braver people ever lived. In spite of dungeon cells, lashings, brandings, exile, or hangings, the Quaker saints have persisted in their quiet, sweet but uncompromising loyalty to the teachings of Christ. We may also mention the Doukhobors, of Russia and Canada, who, for their refusal to bear arms and participate in war, have repeatedly been subjected to bitter persecution.

Thus we see that, down through the ages from Zoroaster's time to our own day, in various lands and among people of widely different religions, the ideal of spiritual soldiership again and again has asserted itself. Sometimes, as we have seen, it miscarries and ends in barbarous blood-spilling. Sometimes it gets down to the real thing, to a purely moral warfare, to "living the life" at whatever cost to self. But, back of error or clearness of vision in the application of the idea, lies the universal feeling that, in loyalty to his moral ideal, the religionist should be as rigidly self-unsparing as the soldier on the battlefield. Where the combination of the soldier spirit with ethical religion has been wisely and successfully effected, the results have been exceedingly gratifying. Human experience, therefore, amply warrants the hope and expectation that, if the war spirit could be harnessed to a religion of love, the result would be a spiritual army of brave, self-denying "warriors of the ideal." Such is the testimony, such the prophecy of history.

CONTRIBUTED

Walt Whitman

[James Oppenheim's message to the meeting at the Community Church of New York, Monday evening, May 31st, 1920, in celebration of the 101st anniversary of the birth of Walt Whitman, the great American poet of democracy.]

Walt Whitman still needs to be understood and assimilated. The great American onslaught against him has died away. As usual, we have taken our cue from Europe and suddenly discovered that we have given birth to a world-poet, one of the greatest men of the nineteenth century. A blind "yea-yea" has followed an equally blind "nay-nay." When we see our newspapers quoting Whitman on patriotism and Americanism we may know that Whitman is understood about as thoroughly as the New Testament is understood.

The radicalism of Whitman is deep and disturbing. It is true that he does not speak an economic language, that he does not directly deal with the capital-labor conflict. He really cuts deeper than that. He is against anything that confines, mechanizes or degrades the spirit of man. He is for the expansion and ex-

pression of the individual who must have a real say about his own life; not only a freedom of speech and opinion, but also a freedom of action. He is certainly and forever on the side of revolution.

I leave in him revolt (O latent right of insurrection!
O quenchless, indispensable fire!)

The power of Whitman is not so much in his book, great as it is, but in himself. The fact that "who touches this book, touches a man" gives Whitman his all-compelling influence. Nietzsche produced a startling gospel, but it is only too evident that he did not live what he wrote. But Whitman merely wrote what he lived. He gave us an example of individual freedom, and thus cracked the ponderous mould which held American attitude and American art, in their colonial and provincial form. In spite of pioneer brutality and business piracy, America was essentially genteel and respectable, resting deeply in the groove of Puritanism and complacency. Art was suspect and had something to do with the Devil, unless the artist was a moralist and an echo of the old world. Whitman defiantly turned against the whole outfit: he laid America wide open and showed the raw life pulsing under the mask; he boldly expressed the passional life and praised it; he tilted against the gospel of success; he praised poverty and tasted it; he lived a life of his own.

At no time in our history have we been more respectable and afraid, more conventional and traditional than we are at this moment. The non-conformist is our bitterest enemy. Success and Gentility are still our Gods. And yet we praise Whitman, who embodies everything that we are not, and who calls to us from the enemy's camp.

An understanding and assimilation of Whitman would mean a new America.

JAMES OPPENHEIM.

The Hard Task

The loving deed is often not the easy one to do. A father all too often says, "I love my boy too much to refuse him what he wants." In this he reveals one of two things. Either he does not love his boy in the highest sense or he does not have the courage to do what he knows he ought to do. In either case it is not love of the boy which rules but his own weakness. He prefers ease and comfort of the moment rather than the good of his boy.

A child was terribly injured by a fall. The physician told the mother that in his absence a certain treatment should be given the child which would cause a great deal of pain. If the treatment was not given, permanent injury would result. The mother replied, "I love my boy so much I cannot bear to make him suffer so." The treatment was neglected. Selfish love could not endure the cries of pain. The boy today is a cripple.

The power for resistance to physical temptation has been all too often weakened because of a lack of courage to refuse candy to children. Weakness was cultivated by indulgence rather than strength. The child when grown to manhood was sent out into the world never having developed that most important of all powers, the power of self-control.

Showing real love, deep and abiding love for one's city, state or country often requires the very highest form of courage. It may demand that we oppose the great majority which may be as ruthless in its use of power as the most tyrannical minority. Our love may mean that we must stand alone, misunderstood and utterly condemned. It is only a real love, a love that forsakes self and reaches out into the darkness and vastness of the future, that can develop unfaltering courage and the steadfastness that endures to the very end.

He who thinks that the way of love is one of ease, that it is a primrose path smooth to the feet, forgets that to the prophets, seers and Messiahs of the past it has meant suffering and loneliness of soul. Love of the ideal has meant desertion by friends and scoffing of enemies. All too often it has led men to the Garden of Gethsemane and the hill called Golgotha.

The gospel of love is not a gospel of weakness but of strength. It is not a message for puny and servile souls but for strong and valiant men and women. It is easier to hate than to love; to be angry than to keep sweet. Love to man requires a steady eye to see the whole truth and a calm mind to survey all the facts. This means the maintenance of courage and high faith amid the storm and stress of life. This is a hard task but one which calls forth the noblest and best that is in us.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

A Book a Week

MARY BADOLLET POWELL MEMORIAL

DR. JONATHAN: A Play in Three Acts. By Winston Churchill. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Winston Churchill's "The Inside of the Cup" is an exceptional book; his play, we regret to say, is not nearly so important.

Last summer at the Selwyn Theater in New York City there was produced a play entitled "The Challenge," written by Eugene Walter, author of "The Easiest Way." A few days after this production opened the Actors' Equity Association called out its membership in the first actors' strike in history; and "The Challenge," advertised as a "stupendous labor drama," continued to do business with a non-union cast, all the Equity members having been replaced. "The Challenge" was a very shabby piece of writing. The author's main offense, from a liberal point of view, consisted in his determination that labor should not be fairly represented; in every clash between worker and boss the capitalist came off victorious. For example the striker returned no answer to silly phrases like "How could *you* organize great industries that afford thousands of men opportunity to toil?" and "There will always be the necessity for men who can direct large affairs." At last "The Challenge" failed, as it richly deserved to do, and the powers that be in the world of the theater learned that the playgoing public appreciates fair play.

Now, "Dr. Jonathan," in our opinion, is a much better work than "The Challenge." But the two plays have so much in common that it is only just to speak of them at the same time. Both are based on the problem of a great industrial struggle—a strike in a large manufacturing center; the hero in each case is a radical young soldier, crippled in the war; there is the same type of heroine—and the same sort of love plot, and both plays are loosely and often mistakenly written.

"Dr. Jonathan" adds no laurel to Winston Church-

ill's crown and "The Challenge" tore laurel away from the crown of Eugene Walter.

Mr. Churchill is friendly to labor; therefore labor wins in his work. And Mr. Walter is friendly to capital and gives the capitalist the victory. Mr. Churchill understands a little about the struggle for industrial democracy, he uses the language of radicalism from time to time; but he is not "sound" as to economics, he doesn't quite "catch on." Mr. Walter, who says he was private secretary to Eugene V. Debs "about twenty years ago," may understand his subject, but nothing in his play supports the idea; any Broadway hack could do what he did in "The Challenge."

Mr. Churchill should have asked Max Eastman or Floyd Dell to read the manuscript of his work before he sent it to press; thus irritating mistakes in fact and phraseology might have been avoided—for example "labour" instead of "labor" in the name of the A. F. of L. The whole play simply begs for revision. Four times the hero's mother drops her ball of yarn to signify surprise; six or eight different times the heroine "holds test tubes to light" for no special purpose whatever; characters once brought into the scene are left to drift about for pages without a word of dialogue; each act closes with an awkwardly arranged "curtain"; Dr. Jonathan makes melodramatic entrances at crucial moments,—once just in time to prevent a murder; all the persons of the play are stiff and stick-like. Writing a novel is one thing; writing a good play is quite another.

All the merit in "The Challenge" might have been covered with a postage stamp; a postcard at least would be required for "Dr. Jonathan."

Readers of UNITY will appreciate Mr. Churchill's friendly attitude to striving labor, but they will wish that his drama had been more carefully written.

J. W. F.

SYMBOLS.

Beautiful words, like butterflies, blow by,
With what swift colors on their fragile wings!—
Some that are less articulate than a sigh,
Some that were names of ancient, lovely things.
What delicate careerings of escape,
When they would pass beyond the baffled reach,
To leave a haunting shadow and a shape,
Eluding still the careful traps of speech.

And I who watch and listen, lie in wait,
Seeing the cloudy cavalcades blow past,
Happy if some bright vagrant, soon or late,
May venture near the snares of sound, at last—
Most fortunate captor if, from time to time,
One may be taken, trembling in a rhyme.

Poetry. —*David Morton.*

SWEETPEAS.

All flowers in my garden
Are free
Except the wayward sweetpeas;
And they,
Out of love and gratitude,
Have forged tiny green chains,
And chained themselves
To my lattice
And to my heart.

Poetry. —*Margaret McKenny.*

THE STUDY TABLE

Book Notices

THE TRUTH ABOUT CHINA AND JAPAN. B. L. Putnam Weale. New York:1919. Dodd, Mead and Co. 16mo, pp. (vii) 248.

Mr. Simpson (B. L. Putnam Weale) is always interesting and worth reading. He has grown up in the Orient and China is his breath of life. He and Thomas F. Millard are among the doughtiest champions of China against Japan. Both often have occasion to present the same facts, to strip bare the same dark plots, to issue the same dire warnings. But there is a sharp difference of attitude between them. Mr. Millard frankly loves and admires China, hates and distrusts Japan. His battle is a sharp issue between two sets of interests which he considers incompatible or hostile. Simpson (Putnam Weale) does not so simply and directly envisage the problems. He views everything from the view-point of an earlier book—*The Conflict of Color*. In Asia he sees a continent of colored peoples, whose rise threatens white supremacy. He sees salvation only in dividing the Asiatics against themselves, in setting them at each others' throats. Millard would be content to see a wholesome development of China side by side, though he may think it impossible; Mr. Simpson (Putnam Weale) would view such a development with alarm. An aroused and united Asia must be prevented at any cost. Of course these principles are not directly stated in this book, but they are fundamental to the author's thought and must be recognized. Yet his *Truth about China and Japan* is worth reading. The chapters were originally published as articles in the magazine, *Asia*. There are five topics discussed—The Early Relations between China and Japan, The Outline of the Far East, The Settlement of the Chinese Question, The Problem of Peking, If Japan Refuses? There is an appendix of documentary material. Mr. Simpson (Putnam Weale) is bitterly anti-Japanese. He seems to believe that he lays bare a plot and reveals a danger. His attitude may be fairly stated in his own words—"The root idea today, as it has been for many years, is to complete the plan of making suzerain China the tributary and tributary Japan the suzerain. The curious and intricate character of this crisis, which necessitates a double policy—one for the West and another for the East—is adequately illustrated in the four chapters that follow." Simpson (Putnam Weale) must always be read, but he should always be read critically and with full appreciation of his ultimate bias.

THE DREAM PROBLEM (A Symposium). Edited and compiled by Ram Narayan. Delhi, India. Practical Medicine Publishing Co.

We have already referred to Ram Narayan's *Dream Problem*. We have now had the opportunity of seeing the book and have read it with real interest. The book centers around a hypothetical question. A dreamer nightly has a dream in which he addresses a group of persons, largely the friends and acquaintances of his waking hours; he tells them that the experience is a dream and that they are the creatures of his dream; they demand proof; he promises to think over the matter when awake and to explain it to them when

they meet again in a dream; they ridicule him; he awakes in distress; *how* is he to convince them? The author propounds the question and asks for advice. The book consists of three parts. The first contains nineteen solutions from Hindu thinkers, representing a diversity of philosophical and religious viewpoints; the second consists of thirty-one solutions (or pertinent expressions) from foreign contributors, English and American; the third is made up of contributions by the editor himself. There is much interesting and curious matter here. The solutions of the Indian thinkers are on the whole better-knit arguments than those from the foreigners, and show an agreement upon some fundamental ideas and propositions that was hardly to be anticipated and which gives ground for seeing some real construction here. The greatest interest of the book, however, is in the third part, where the author gives many interesting ideas, both original and borrowed, the latter being largely presented in the form of a dialogue between Sage Vasishta and the Dreamer. Your reviewer was chiefly surprised at the seriousness with which the question was discussed; he had thought of the problem less as the statement of a difficulty to be solved for the dreamer, than as an allegory to demonstrate that life is itself in the nature of a dream and that it would be as difficult to demonstrate the reality of our waking as of our dream consciousness. Whether this was the author's purpose, or whether he was seriously anxious to deal with his dream creatures as he claims, the book brings together considerable material both from western science and from Vedanta sources.

ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS. Kevork Aslan. New York:1920. The Macmillan Co. 16mo, pp. xxix. 138.

In 1908 this author, an Armenian, published a large book in French upon the history of his country. He later printed a condensed edition of that history, also in French. The book before us is an English translation of this briefer work, made by Pierre Crabites. Armenia is an old nation, situated in the highway between the ancient East and the ancient West. It has been harried and overrun, in turn by Assyrians, Scythians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Parthians, Byzantines, Turks. Yet there have been intervals of independence or autonomy. There has, too, been an interesting ecclesiastical history, with an Armenian church, recognizing its Catholicos as final head. There has been a special alphabet, through which a native literature has found expression. To condense the story of all this into so small a volume is no easy task. The history is one of the old-fashioned kind—a compact statement of rulers, leaders, battles, victories, defeats. It is the driest of reading, but will no doubt be useful for reference. Its usefulness is, however, less than it should be, through the absence of either map or index.

W. B. WILSON AND THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. Roger W. Babson. New York:1919. Brentano's. 16mo, pp. xiii, 276.

Roger W. Babson is well known through a number of popular books on economic and statistical subjects. His newest book is a biography of William B. Wilson, the first Secretary of Labor in the United States. The story is worth telling; it is not every boy who works in a coal-mine before he is ten years of age and then rises to membership in the Cabinet of a great nation. And Mr. Wilson has done it through sheer strength of character. In the book Babson gives a good deal of valuable information regarding the origin, the machinery, the policy and the organization of the Department of Labor, subjects on which we are far too ignorant. Babson is not a good writer, but his matter is worth while. He is worst when he tries to do "fine writing." Thus: "We are apt to think that it is things that make the world go round, but this is a great mistake. Buildings, industries, railroads, steamships, and even schools and colleges are the mere shell of the egg. The life of the egg is the heart throb and it is the heart throb that makes the world go round." There is not much so bad as that, however, and the purpose of the book is too good for us to be too exacting as regards form. FREDERICK STARR.

From Our Correspondents

We take pleasure in sharing with our readers a few sentences gleaned from recent correspondence:

A Minnesota correspondent writes:

What a great work you are doing; every number so full of earnest truth, up to date, and excellent reading, although somewhat saddening.

Allow me to enclose a check for $4 to pay my subscription for a year, and to add a mite to the list for others.

From Nebraska:

Enclosed is a draft for three dollars to renew the subscription to UNITY. We appreciate the fearlessness with which you face the problems of the day. It is as if you spoke for us who have no voice that can do anything to correct or even call attention to the needs of the day.

May nothing interfere with your good work.

From New York City:

I received your letter of March 12, acknowledging receipt of my subscription to UNITY. All the copies have reached me in due course. I now write to let you know how very much I enjoy the magazine. It is one of the best that I receive. Following is a list of persons whom I think might be interested in UNITY. . . .

I enclose one dollar for which I ask you kindly to send me an extra copy of the magazine for as many weeks as the amount will cover, beginning with last week's issue, or the week before last's. I want to use these extra copies in interesting friends.

Again expressing my appreciation of your splendid magazine, and wishing you every success, I am

Massachusetts:

We have taken UNITY for some time. I consider it the finest literary periodical published today in America; and I read a good many of all kinds. You are doing a wonderful work in enlightening and uplifting the many strugglers after Truth! Heaven bless your workers and their work.

Idaho:

I am sending to the Free Religious Association a renewal of our subscription to UNITY. We prize its helpful inspiring visits.

UNITY exhibits marvelous skill and literary taste in its poetical selections. In this respect there is no journal of my acquaintance that is its equal. Rare and genuine gems are taken from such a variety of poetical authors as to give delight and inspiration to the reader. I so thoroughly enjoy UNITY poems that I desire to recommend it to all lovers of good literature.

Montreal, Canada:

I must express my satisfaction with UNITY, it is one of the best in my mail, not that I agree with every part nor even take the same ground on the vital problem of the Purpose and Destiny of the Church.

However, as my views are not by any means orthodox I can read all these things without getting red in the face.

Syracuse, New York:

Very cordially do I thank you for sending UNITY when the subscription was over due. Now at 94 I await and read it with the old intensity and must have it until I go, which may be at any day.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD ALLIANCE.

The annual meeting of the International Committee of the World Alliance will be held at St. Beatenberg, Switzerland, August 25th to 29th.

Twenty-two nations will send representatives to this conference. In addition to the members of the International Committee other invited guests will take part in the meeting.

The following persons have been appointed to represent the American Council:

Rev. Peter Ainslie, Mr. W. P. Allen, Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, Rev. Andrew M. Brodie, Rev. Arthur J. Brown, Rev. A. J. Burnham, Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, Mr. Sherwood Eddy, Mr. Robert H. Gardiner, Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, Mr. Hamilton Holt, Rev. Finis Idleman, Rev. Frederick Lynch, Prof. C. C. McCowan, Rev. A. C. McGiffert, Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Rev. William P. Merrill, Rev. Worth M. Tippy, Rev. Charles L. Thompson, Mr. F. P. Turner.

In addition to the formal business connected with the organization these subjects will come up for discussion:

"The Church and Disarmament."

"The League of Nations."

"The Creation of an International Ethic."

"The Relation of Christian Unity to International Peace."

"The Program for a Campaign of Religious Co-operation Between the Nations that Have Been at War."

One of the most interesting discussions will be on the question as to whether or not there is a practical basis of co-operation between the world-organization of the churches and the other world organizations, such as the bankers, Socialists, the Trade Unionists, the Social Workers, the Press Agencies, the Co-operative Societies and others.

Another question will be that of the relation of Christian missions to International Peace, and perhaps one of the most interesting, that of the relation of the social, industrial and economic problems to international goodwill as understood by the churches.

This meeting will undoubtedly register a new advance on the part of the churches and people of goodwill throughout the world, and out of it will grow a practical program that will engage all the energies and ability of our various Councils in the Alliance for the next decade.

The American delegation will be glad to welcome to this conference any persons visiting Europe who can plan to spend these days at St. Beatenberg.

A WORLD CHARTER FOR WOMEN.

"A real social revolution," an English correspondent describes the international women's convention which is meeting this month in Geneva, Switzerland. In the city that gave the world Calvinism, the Red Cross and any number of international organizations, the "convention city" of the world, women from Europe, America, Asia and Australasia are assembling to lay the foundation for a new world order in which the feminine strain of western civilization will become, if not dominant as some few extremists hope and believe, yet of equal influence with the male. In the historic cathedral, Maude Royden, assistant pastor of a great London church, will conduct special service for the several hundred women expected to attend the conference. Governments as well as voluntary organizations have appointed delegates. Mrs. Josephus Daniels, Mrs. Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and other women have sailed from America. England also is to be represented by at least one woman of American birth, Lady Astor, the first and only woman member of the British Parliament.

Great Britain and Holland havve arginated the largest share of the program for discussion, the proposed world charter for women. Equal suffrage for women in all countries, equal powers of guardianship over their children, civil rights for married women, an equal moral standard for men and women, equal pay for equal work—these are some of the major rights demanded. Considerable discussion is expected around the proposed inclusion of another provision for which there exists much enthusiasm in some sections of the international movement; pensions for all mothers when they have reached a definite age or are left widows before that age, or when suffering financial misfortune.—*The Survey.*

A "LITTLE THEATER" AT SING SING.

The prisoners of Sing Sing Prison have joined the little theater movement. Within the past two months three dramatic programs have been given in the prison chapel, for which tickets were sold to the general public. The acting was done entirely by prisoners and the performances were managed by the Mutual Welfare League, the self-governing organization established by Thomas Mott Osborne, and again assuming an important role under the present warden, Major Lewis E. Lawes. At one of these performances a one-act play written by a prisoner, called The Pardon, was acted by inmate talent. The three programs were highly profitable, about $2,000 having been realized from the sale of tickets and from advertising in the programs. All proceeds are to be used to defray the expenses of league activities.

Heretofore no systematic effort had been made to have the men provide entertainment themselves. Plays had been presented at Sing Sing, but these had been given mostly by outside actors. Now a committee of the league is organizing the dramatic interest and talent among the prisoners. A list of a dozen suitable plays requiring only male actors and available in printed form has been made up. It is possible that in the future men will take the part of women, and such plays as The Third Degree, Justice and Punishment will be given. Major Lawes does not at present see his way clear to using the services of women students at dramatic schools or actresses at leisure for female roles, as has been reported. That is a possibility, however, that may receive consideration.

The interest in this dramatic development is strong among the prisoners. So also is interest in community singing, which has recently been introduced, a community "sing" now being held nearly every week. Another undertaking of

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the league is a more active use of athletics, one purpose of which is to keep the men as much as possible out of the small cells that have been Sing Sing's worst physical feature ever since the prison was built.—*The Survey.*

THE CHICAGO RACE COMMISSION.

The calm temper of Chicago during the recent clash between the whites and negroes was in accord with the plea of Governor Lowden in the statement he made some months ago in appointing the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. He referred to last year's riot as the work of the worst element of both races:

"The two are here and will remain here. The great majority of each realizes the necessity of their living upon terms of cordial goodwill and respect, each for the other. That condition must be brought about.

"To say that we cannot solve this problem is to confess the failure of self-government. I offer no solution of the problem. I do know, however, that the question cannot be answered by mob violence. I do know that every time that men, white or colored, take the law into their own hands, instead of helping, they only postpone the settlement of the question.

"I ask that our people, white and colored, give their fullest co-operation to the commission. I ask, too, as I have a right to ask, that both races exercise that patience and self-restraint which are indispensable to self-government while we are working out this problem."

The commission, which is in the midst of its inquiries and investigations preparatory to the formulation of its report, is itself an example of effective co-operation between the two races, for its membership of twelve is composed of six from each race. Its investigators were promptly on the ground in this as in other incipient clashes, for it is studying their causes as well as those of the riot of last summer While the facts of the riots receive much of the commission's attention, its major emphasis is being put upon underlying conditions. The work is organized under six committees: racial clashes, housing, industry, crime, racial contact, and public opinion. It hopes to interpret the conditions of life of the Negro group, and the relations between the races, and also to point the way toward the improvement of these conditions and relations. The executive secretary of the commission is Graham R. Taylor, formerly of *The Survey* staff and later engaged in government work in Petrograd and Siberia. Mr. Taylor has as associate secretary, Charles S. Johnson. The members of the commission include some of the leading citizens of both races in Chicago. Edgar A. Bancroft is chairman. Among the members are Julius Rosenwald, Victor F. Lawson, Edward Osgood Brown, William Scott Bond, and Dr. George C. Hall, the Negro surgeon.—*The Survey.*

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